

173 that the two rivals should start walking at once, and that he who arrived at Imasinen first should own the land. The Senhaja won, and when the Ghomara arrived he became angry, whereupon the war commenced. On the way home the two rivals collected allies in all the Riffian tribes they passed, as follows:

Senhaja

Masusa of Galiya
Beni Sidel of Galiya
Metalsa
Gzennaya
Beni Urriaghel
Beni Bu Frah
Mestama

Ghomara

Beni Shisher of Galiya
Beni Bu Yafer of Galiya
Beni Bu Ifrar of Galiya
Beni Bu Yahyi
Beni Said
Beni Tusin
Beni Uliashk
Tafersit
Beni Amart
Bokoya
Targuist
Beni Itteft
Mtiwa

The forces of the Ghomara, judging by names alone, should have outweighed those of the Senhaja. But Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya have always far overshadowed the other tribes numerically and in military power, so that their presence on the Senhajan side is supposed to have turned the scale, especially since they had as allies all the tribes on the Wergha here called Arabophone Senhaja. The Senhaja won, and the Ghomara have remained huddled on their seacoast ever since. To this day bitterness remains between the peoples, although the allies of the two have long since been drawn into fresh feuds and new alignments.

173 One cultural difference between the Senhaja and Ghomara has led to an *ex post facto* explanation for the enmity. It is said that there are two kinds of men: those who when they eat together leave a little food in the bottom of the bowl through shame of taking the last bit, and likewise keep the *baraka*¹ of the food in the house; and those who gobble it all to the last morsel. Furthermore the first kind are hospitable, and the second not. The Black Sultan (a common figure in Moroccan folklore) decreed that those who have shame in this matter should be called Senhaja and those who have none Ghomara. To this day all the Senhaja leave food in the bowl, and the Ghomara leave none; the Senhaja are hospitable and the Ghomara cold to strangers.

173 In this seemingly simple story of the Senhaja and the Ghomara, recorded as it came from the lips of the old men of these peoples, we have an exceedingly lucid account of happenings that occurred at least a thousand years ago and probably considerably earlier. Certain factors in the tale have been crystallised and handed down as entities, whether or not they are strictly accurate. At any rate, both the Ghomara and the Senhaja invaded from the south, the Ghomara first. Each found traces of previous occupants, each absorbed a certain amount of Riffian blood, and each sought allies among the Riffians when they fought off their old grudges, which they may well have brought with them from the south.

¹ See p. 157.

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[251]
being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammel*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammel* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuaneen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol¹ attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.² On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

276
kif, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghruth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammel* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

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Riffian Table Manners. When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

¹ Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86-88.

² Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 app., 316, 386, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 app., 507 n., 570, 601.

MATERIAL CULTURE

63

host are present, food is served them in a room separate from that commonly occupied by the family. The host is present, but does not partake unless urged to do so by the guest. The host's wife appears only to bring in and take out the food, which she does as rapidly and unostentatiously as possible. 264 574 ●

In regard to actual table manners, but a few points serve to distinguish the Riffian from the Arab usage. The Riffian washes his hands with hot water and soap and wipes them on a towel before eating, providing he has soap and a towel, otherwise he washes them with water and dries them on whatever piece of cloth will serve the purpose. After eating he rinses his hands and dries them. He does not indulge in the gargling and spitting practised by the Arabs while washing. He does not expectorate on the floor and walls as do Arabs, nor does he belch to show his appreciation of the meal. In the actual technique of eating, however, from the sacramental breaking of bread to the pouring of tea, little difference can be found, except that the Riffians use wooden spoons more and their hands less than do Arabs. 264 [515] [415]

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

342 When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

356 The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

341 Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques. The Moorish arch in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

341 Domes are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Rifianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Rifian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

341 Tiled roofs are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

177 Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

341 Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

342 Tents. The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driis, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

[286] The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π . The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aphiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *ishashen*, sepa-

GOVERNMENT AND WARFARE

101

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten sold¹ a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors.

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars.

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.¹ These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone.

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it.

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars.

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done.

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars.

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath

¹ See below, p. 102.

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291] During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghruthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 The *shih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor,"¹ is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmih*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *jaiaeb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212] In the cantonal mosque the students² learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

¹ So translated to distinguish this *shih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

² Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *jaleb* (plural *jaleba*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word student as used in translation of *jaleb*.

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
 728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace
 is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, per-
 haps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither
 in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long
 duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the
 hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their
 food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the
 belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in
 the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in
 your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two
 or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed
 for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a
 guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque
 if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among
 the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food
 to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there,
 as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any per-
 son in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there
 in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please
 his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in
 the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse.
 The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared,
 and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been
 killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is
 eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before
 him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child de-
 765 posit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed
 with another child.

776 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in
 796 the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebiril, the master of mosques. Among the
 Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a
 village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore
 sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint
 will be unscrupulously killed.

627 representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas
171 and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be
562 their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent
other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)⁶⁶ ...Rifian
562 women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general,
[574] if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men
are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from
[443] their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example
of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where
transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets
are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a
[576] woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him
the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of
855 way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love
their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

432 In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th
[623] (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties
concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and
the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign
the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property⁶⁷, the
jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents
427 in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is
623 not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman)
426 who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies
686 in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his
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623

871 c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to
621 education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of
793 the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while
his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious
property¹⁴.

621 The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such
574 as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for
651 distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political,
economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.)
made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of
visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared
equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the
621 iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare
241 reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th
651 lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds
from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation
ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to
794 be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara dona-
tions to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected
in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for
this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a
792 fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who
794 must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

792 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and
794 harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal strug-
gles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them,
in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness,
sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on
178 the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such
794 individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is
used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as
then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th,
621 for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other
794 admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals
voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the
fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything
else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits
• [594] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning
to complain about them, no matter who the guest is. 15

423 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more
648 complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order,
to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all
means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of
the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence
necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in
the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqrannen)⁴². The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although
oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians⁴³. The "Little
Ones" (imzziyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything
else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try
to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the con-
ventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories....
Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do
so in places fixed by local tradition⁴⁴.

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night⁴⁵. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on
their backs⁴⁶.

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails⁴⁷, and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of them-
selves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their
children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right
path"⁴⁸. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[443] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts⁴⁹. The
[574] Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors,
and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social
activities.

A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

000 villages, thus giving rise to the linkages¹⁸ discussed earlier.

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D) Political Organization:

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1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

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The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any

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higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?¹⁹ I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated

• (574)
[577]

hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances²⁰.

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad
bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Anti; and
giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing)
that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the
jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing)
during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he
should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should
steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in
the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal
during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any
indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger
(with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.³⁸ If he should point
his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10
mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
692 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal
(fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

● 574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

- 574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be
fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who
effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one
duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the school-
master, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the
scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present
agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in
this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned
jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin
'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the
present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries
bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e.
of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present

805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-
Khair of the year 1285 (May 28, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and
'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

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Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

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An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

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The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is, then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

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Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).⁴² It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.⁴³

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But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

671 of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do
554 not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living
623 people, for those present.

671 Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggra-
672 vating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are
nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain re-
[682] serves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility,
homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of
one's property.

681 Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes,
554 and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh
661 to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.
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685 Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals,
672 which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.
671

671 In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates
623 the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its
574 members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for
their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

623 Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who
574 dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap,
and finally the amphitriton hands over to their expectant voracity all
the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing
through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the
dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who
prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with
whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee
pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

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771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.⁵⁷

671
182 This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian
778 appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for tran-
782 scendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition
779 to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice,
[574] the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian,
an enforced vegetarian.⁵⁸

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182 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of
644 the khums (Rifian thakhamasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic
619 practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

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182 It establishes the ddiyith⁵⁹, fixing it at 2000 duros, the
628 maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting in-
681 delibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount
[511] of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

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628 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which
681 can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real
184 ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality,
443 differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

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648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe
which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those
studied and known so far.¹⁰⁵

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[671] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty
[829] upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal
lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punish-
ment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While,
[682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that
[443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty
is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount
is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith¹⁰⁶ in two qanuns already
examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime
in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and de-
serter as homicide is upon the murderer.

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671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality
which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was
precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom
which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of
Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.¹⁰⁷

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[702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

- It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that
each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one
must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order,
except in the following cases, such as illness¹⁰⁸, and nobody may go
on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-ma-
halla.¹⁰⁹

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This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

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They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

000

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaina).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

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A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

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121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
 [553] tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
 [585] the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
 [844] sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
 [852]
 [764]

844 The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she
 sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
 [602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
 [782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
 [556] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
 [574] bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so.

However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially
 a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is
 not uncommon among those who can afford it.

553 Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
 574 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially
 602 the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
 [114] On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
 553 his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during
 574 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the
 602 child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
 431 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed
 but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by pre-
 vious obligations established by gifts that the giver has received
 from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money,
 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially
579 father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this cere-
602 mony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the
431 family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right
[578] to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the
recipient.

553 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day
782 the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father
sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its
ear three times, "Your name is....," calling it the same name as
that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such
a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended
574 to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is
621 expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual
number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone
who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to
be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the

553 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of
556 food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys.
574

Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of pub-
lic entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-

[571] ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts
and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority
often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to empha-

553 size their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

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431 for his daughter before and had accepted their gifts but subsequent negotiations had broken down. Generally, a man will not offer such gifts unless he believes he had a good chance of succeeding. Once the father or guardian of the girl has expressed an interest, all subsequent exchanges are not regarded as gifts but as negotiated prices.

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[574] Once the conditions for commencing negotiations appear propitious, a group of male relatives from the boy's side visits the home of the girl's family. Again it is customary to bring a [431] lamb, loaves of bread, sugar, and tea, although the amount depends on the wealth of the family. The request for the girl is made on this occasion. After the meal has been served, the guests and host go through a prescribed formula. "Do you know why we have come?" The host responds: "Yes. You have come as my guests." The spokesman replies: "No. We have come to ask for your daughter." They then commence the bargaining. There are two separate categories of items that are discussed. There is the [583] sdaq, or dowry, that must be paid the father of the bride in order to provide her trousseau. This is always in cash. Second, there is bargaining in the amount of goods the groom's family are willing to spend on the ceremony. Both sides will argue over how many bulls, or sheep, or goats shall be provided for the ceremony, along with the quantity of barley and wheat, the loaves of bread, kilos of sugar and tea, and the liters of cooking oil.

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583 The major expenditure, however, is the sdaq or the gift from the groom's family to the bride's family to purchase her

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until
the wedding ceremony is held.

585 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss.

The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 - The wedding celebration or thansgra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and
while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
585 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group
574 of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar.

Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

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[533] by five or ten minutes. As they travel through the hills, each group sings praise songs of themselves and occasionally derogative songs about the other group. As they sing quite loudly, they can generally hear one another's songs even if they can not always see each other. The bride's group is the larger, numbering about twenty girls, all unmarried, while the male group consists rarely of more than ten and may include married male friends. The groom himself is addressed as Moulay or Sultan during this procession and the men with him are his iwziren or advisors. This is a borrowing of terms which are traditionally used to designate positions in the Moroccan government.

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481 As they come to each house, the girls enter into the inside patio where they sing and dance, while the men enter a separate but connected guest room where they are offered tea and a meal. It is customary for the family head of each visited house to present the groom with a sum of money and a gift of clothing or new shoes. The amount given is related to the prominence and wealth of the household, to the degree of relatedness between the groom and the giver, and to previous reciprocal gifts bestowed by members of the groom's family on the host. These gifts, grama, are interpreted by Westermarck as "... really a loan which has to be repaid in the future under corresponding circumstances, or an indemnity for similar contributions in the past; hence the amounts given by the various donors are most carefully taken note of" (1914:125).

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On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grana has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both

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the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness

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of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio

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for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grana).

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At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If

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the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and

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dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following

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one. These musicians, who receive \$20 to \$40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is

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a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

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585 The father of the groom provides meals and tea for all
574 the guests at his home as well as at the house of the bride.
262 The meal for the guests in even the humblest of homes consists
of a course of cous-cous and a meat tajin. In most ceremonies
there is also a poultry course. Enormous quantities of bread
and tea are also served. The most accepted casual factor for
[178] reducing the days of the wedding ceremony from seven as they
were before Abdel Krim to two or three days as they are today
was that the expenses of providing hospitality over such an
extended period of time was ruinous to all but the most pros-
perous families.

585 Guests are likewise expected to incur various expenses.
574 At this moment we need only note the recurrent support of a
571 public ceremony which is expected throughout Berber society.
All mature guests are expected to provide a quantity of barley,
loaves of freshly baked bread, fresh fruit and vegetables, or
a monetary equivalent. This tends to discourage, among the
poor fellah, the presence of nonrelatives, because it repre-
sents an outlay which is not part of their residual social
obligations. In addition, such attendance by a nonrelative
imposes future obligations which, in only rare circumstances,
they are willing to accept. By attending the wedding and taking
part in the joining in matrimony of the couple, one gratuitously
assumes the duty of attending the naming ceremonies for the
infants of this union. Such acceptance of future responsibility
is not normally accepted unless there is social advantage thereby.

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The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transportation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the professional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

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The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored

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585 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high
574 point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web
571 of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or
431 projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grana. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (visiers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and visiers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Conn (1931:134-135) and Renisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[1954] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male
[538] guests they sing in Arabic.

[539]
sabhain er-rarik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

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431 as they walk inside the circle three times. Traditionally, rifles were fired by the iwziren but with the confiscation of all firearms, firecrackers are today used as substitutes.

The groom then sits down on a chair in front of a low table which has previously been placed in the center of the circle. Squatting beside him on the ground are his iwziren, his father, and usually his younger brother. Behind him stand four girls who throughout the remaining ceremony fan him with their scarfs. At this point the gift giving commences. The

[522] gifts, always in money, are collected by a traditional spokesmen, often a comic figure, who makes jokes and dances about as he announces aloud who has made the contribution and how much it is. With each announcement, the women who are inside the house but huddled around the doors peering out at the ceremony, commence to ululate. The comic figure goes about the crowd collecting gifts which he hands over to the groom's father, who places them in a brass tray in front of Moulay. The largest gifts, usually given at the beginning of the ceremony, are from relatives of the groom's father, such as brothers and uncles, as well as from relatives of the bride and close friends of the groom's father. These gifts are rarely under 100 dirhams but as the evening progresses smaller gifts of from 5 to 20 dirhams are given by age mates of the groom, by guests who wish to express their thanks for the evening's entertainment, and by local notables who feel it incumbent to give a small gift at each wedding they attend. The greater part of each gift goes to the father of the

groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving can become a competitive game in which the guests give increasingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
574 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams (\$70) from a friend
571 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-
in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for
ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-
in-law, who had only two years previously married into this
family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right
but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives
borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was
able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams
more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony
[578] the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's
entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied
that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took
his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to
one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me,
"I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they
probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
574 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
571 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to
finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here
the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

585 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing
571 system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future
431 obligations. If, for example, a man paid \$300 for a wedding
182 and received back \$300 in gifts, the account would by no means
be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original \$300
was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and
the subsequent \$300 has set up a whole new series of obligations.

[426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to
others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts
are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided
entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial
exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the
pride and honor of the participants.

585 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the
574 seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day
the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see
her for the first time since she left their home. This is a
much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of
[431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to
the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride
by her own family. This celebration is socially important
because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors
how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to
585 be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's
574 family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's
152 party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women
[292] of the groom's family wear their everyday working
[291] clothes.

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior
vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the com-
pensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member
to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as
a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the
passing of this ceremony she is no longer tielith (bride) but
timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household
activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony

585 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is
431 slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's
father's house. There counter gifts, in the form of a cow or
some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may

[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[198] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the
seventh day ceremony.

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
 785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
 (574) numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
 (432) is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
 (431) community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
 (794) they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While
 it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up sub-
 scription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves
 a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary
 importance in terms of economic activity. There are small cele-
 brations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on
 the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the
 ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day
 of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet
 is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
 (782) of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
 (814) tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corrob-
 orate this point while in the field.

346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
 794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community
 mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there
 is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and
 on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more
 or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud
 bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

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Buck's remark about , reports among the Maya Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in the Rif. "... Since land is what parents leave children to start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor of production" (1966:39).

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Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social responsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however, generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel about from community to community consulting with their own kind or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually, the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight inconvenience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived, such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off families have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is,
of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caid, as the most immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
692 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is
556 placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
554 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form
571 of mutual support between local lords and the community was much